

## Message Text

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AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE  
USDOCOSOUTH NAPLES IT  
CINCUSAFE RAMSTEIN GER  
CINCUSAREUR HEIDELBERG GER  
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E.O. 11652: XGDS-3  
TAGS: SP, NATO, MPOL, MARR  
SUBJECT: HIGH-LEVEL SEMINAR ON SPAIN AND NATO, MARCH 9-10

1. SUMMARY: THIS DAY-AND-A-HALF SEMINAR, WHICH BROUGHT

TOGETHER SENIOR SPANISH AND U.S. OFFICIALS FOR INFORMAL TALKS ON A HYPOTHETICAL BASIS, WAS A CONSIDERABLE SUCCESS. A SERIES OF DIFFICULT SPANISH QUESTIONS REGARDING THE MERITS AND DEMERITS OF ALLIANCE MEMBERSHIP WERE TREATED IN DEPTH IN THE CONTEXT OF AN AGENDA DESIGNED BY THE U.S. SIDE TO UNDERLINE THE VIABILITY OF THE ALLIANCE, SPAIN'S STAKE IN IT, AND THE BALANCE OF BENEFITS AND OBLIGATIONS OF FULL MEMBERSHIP, INCLUDING PARTICIPATION IN THE INTEGRATED MILITARY STRUCTURE.

2. ALTHOUGH PUBLIC DISCUSSION OF NATO HAS BEEN INCREASING IN SPAIN, SPANISH PARTICIPANTS CONTINUED TO PREDICT THAT NO FORMAL PARLIAMENTARY DEBATE WILL BE LAUNCHED BY THE GOS UNTIL AFTER THE COMPLETION OF THE PROCESS OF INAUGURATING A NEW CONSTITUTION. THE SPANISH CO-DIRECTOR OF THE AD HOC COMMITTEE ON COORDINATION WITH NATO, THE HOST FOR THE SEMINAR, ALSO INDICATED PRIVATELY THAT IT WOULD BE PREMATURE TO PURSUE AT THIS TIME FURTHER CONCRETE MEASURES TO PROMOTE DIRECT INSTITUTIONAL CONTACTS BETWEEN SPAIN AND NATO. IT WAS THEREFORE LEFT AT THE SEMINAR THAT FOLLOW-UP WOULD OCCUR IN THE AD HOC COMMITTEE ITSELF AND THEN LATER (AT A TIME TO BE DETERMINED) IN A SECOND SEMINAR WITH ESSENTIALLY THE SAME PARTICIPATION.

3. U.S. SUMMARY COMMENTS AT THE SEMINAR AND A DETAILED CONFIDENTIAL

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SPANISH STATEMENT ON GIBRALTAR ARE COVERED BY SEPTELS. MINUTES WILL BE POUCHED. (THIS TELEGRAM WAS PREPARED AFTER THE DEPARTURE OF THE WASHINGTON PARTICIPANTS.) END SUMMARY.

4. CONSIDERABLE INFORMATION WAS IMPARTED. NO NEW ISSUES WERE SURFACED BY THE SPANISH, WHO WERE FOCUSING ON HOW TO DEAL AT A BASIC LEVEL WITH ARGUMENTS EXPRESSED IN SPAIN BY OPPONENTS, AND EVEN MANY SUPPORTERS, OF NATO MEMBERSHIP (E.G., THE SUPPOSED ADVANTAGES OF NEUTRALITY, THE SOUTHERN FOCUS OF SPANISH SECURITY INTERESTS, THE COSTS OF MEMBERSHIP, SPANISH LINKAGE OF PROGRESS REGARDING THE EC AND GIBRALTAR, AND POSSIBLE EASTERN EUROPEAN REACTIONS DESTABILIZING TO DETENTE).

5. THE SEMINAR COVERED:

A. A BROAD REVIEW OF THE NATURE OF THE ALLIANCE AND THE BALANCE OF OPPORTUNITIES AND ADVANTAGES, ON THE ONE HAND, AND OBLIGATIONS, ON THE OTHER, CONTAINED IN MEMBERSHIP.

B. THE NATO POLITICAL PROCESS. A U.S. PAPER PREPARED

ON NATO CONSULTATIONS WAS PROVIDED THE SPANISH, AND  
CURRENT EXAMPLES OF THE EFFECTIVENESS OF CONSULTATIONS  
(CSCE, SALT, ERW, NPG, FRENCH DISARMAMENT PROPOSALS,  
EAST/WEST STUDY) WERE DISCUSSED IN GENERAL TERMS, AS  
WAS THE EC-9/NATO INTERFACE. (DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY  
GOODBY SEPARATELY AND IN CONFIDENCE BRIEFED SENIOR  
FOREIGN MINISTRY OFFICIALS ON ERW AND THE U.S. REACTION  
TO THE FRENCH DISARMAMENT PROPOSALS, AND IT WAS AGREED  
AT FURTHER U.S.-SPANISH EXCHANGES ON THESE MATTERS  
WOULD BE USEFUL BOTH IN MADRID AND NEW YORK. ON NEITHER  
SUBJECT DOES THE SPANISH POSITION APPEAR FIRM.)  
C. THE IMPACT OF ALLIANCE ENLARGEMENT ON EAST/WEST  
RELATIONS. THE SPANISH SIDE WAS QUICK TO AGREE THAT

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THE ARGUMENT THAT SPANISH MEMBERSHIP WOULD BE DESTABILIZ-  
ING, PARTICULARLY WITH RESPECT TO YUGOSLAVIA, DOES NOT  
HOLD WATER, ALTHOUGH IT REMAINS A REAL ISSUE IN THE  
MINDS OF A NUMBER OF SPANIARDS.

D. THE MILITARY BALANCE. A DETAILED, CAREFULLY PREPARED  
BRIEFING ON THE MILITARY BALANCE WAS PRESENTED BOTH  
ORALLY AND IN WRITING, AND THERE WAS DISCUSSION OF THE  
BROAD STRATEGIC CONTEXT IN WHICH THE QUESTION OF SPANISH  
MEMBERSHIP IN THE ALLIANCE MUST BE CONSIDERED. THE  
SPANISH SIDE WAS QUICK TO PICK UP THE ONLY PERIPHERAL  
MENTION OF NORTH AFRICA IN THE BRIEFING. THE SENIOR  
SPANISH MILITARY REPRESENTATIVE, FOR EXAMPLE, DIRECTLY  
SUGGESTED THE NEED FOR A "EURO-AFRICAN STRATEGY" IN  
ADDITION TO AN EAST/WEST STRATEGY. THE SPANISH SIDE ALSO  
APPEARED TO BE HAVING SOME DIFFICULTIES WORKING OUT  
ARGUMENTS FOR USE WITH PROPONENTS OF ARMED NEUTRALITY  
FOR SPAIN.

E. THE DEFENSE PLANNING PROCESS/COMMAND AND CONTROL OF  
FORCES. BRIEFINGS ON THESE POINTS BY U.S. PARTICIPANTS  
PRODUCED SUGGESTIONS FROM THE SPANISH SIDE THAT SOME  
RESTRUCTURING OF NATO COMMANDS WOULD BE APPROPRIATE IN  
CASE OF SPANISH ENTRY. THE SENIOR SPANISH MILITARY  
REPRESENTATIVE SUGGESTED THE POSSIBILITY OF A COMMAND  
IN THE STRAITS ROUGHLY EQUIVALENT TO CINCHAN, AND THE  
SPANISH CO-CHAIRMAN SUGGESTED THAT THE CANARIES WOULD  
ALSO HAVE TO BE TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT. THERE WAS CONSIDER-  
ABLE SPANISH INTEREST IN DEFINING INTO WHICH CATEGORIES  
OF COMMITMENT SPANISH FORCES MIGHT FALL, WITH THE  
DISCUSSION FOCUSING ON AS SIGNED AND EARMARKED FORCES.

F. FINANCIAL COST OF MEMBERSHIP, INFRASTRUCTURE AND  
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LOGISTICS. HERE THE DISCUSSION PRODUCED A GENERAL  
SPANISH REACTION THAT THEIR ASSUMPTION OF FINANCIAL

RESPONSIBILITIES SHOULD BE GRADUAL, PARTICULARLY IN RE  
INFRASTRUCTURE, ON THE GROUNDS THAT BY ASSUMING A FULL  
SHARE FROM THE OUTSET SPAIN WOULD BE PAYING FOR PROGRAMS  
WHICH WOULD BE OF NO BENEFIT TO IT.

G. COMMITMENT OF FORCES. A VERY CAREFULLY PREPARED U.S.  
PRESENTATION ON HYPOTHETICAL SPANISH MILITARY ROLES IN  
NATO UNDERLINED THAT THE SPANISH ROLES SUGGESTED WOULD  
BE A LOGICAL EXTENSION OF PRESENT ROLES, WOULD RECOG-  
NIZE THE FIRST OBLIGATION OF EACH NATO PARTNER TO THE  
DEFENSE OF THE HOMELAND (SOMETHING THE SPANISH CO-  
CHAIRMAN TERMED "VERY POSITIVE"), AND WOULD NOT REQUIRE  
BASING OF SPANISH FORCES ABROAD IN PEACETIME. THE U.S.  
PRESENTATION, IN TALKING ABOUT THE COMMITMENT OF SPANISH  
DIVISIONS, TACTICAL FIGHTER SQUADRONS, ETC., ALSO  
SUGGESTED WITHOUT ANY DEFINITION AN EVENTUAL MORE FAR-  
REACHING ROLE FOR SPAIN IN THE INTEGRATED MILITARY

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STRUCTURE. THIS BROUGHT NO CHALLENGE OR RESPONSE FROM THE SPANISH SIDE, BUT WE SUSPECT IT WOULD BE INCORRECT TO ASSUME FROM THIS A POSITIVE REACTION. THE SPANISH SIDE CLEARLY WAS UNPREPARED TO RESPOND TO THE DEGREE OF DETAIL CONTAINED IN THE U.S. PRESENTATION. THEY DID ASK QUESTIONS ABOUT THE POSSIBLE EVENTUAL PRESENCE IN SPAIN OF NON-NATO COMMITTED UNITS (UNLIKELY), THE NATURE OF ARMAMENTS OTHER NATO MEMBERS MIGHT WISH TO PLACE IN SPAIN (DEFENSIVE) AND THE PROSPECTS FOR EMPLACEMENT IN SPAIN OF ADDITIONAL AIR WARNING AND MARITIME DETECTION SYSTEMS (AREAS IN WHICH THE U.S. SIDE SUGGESTED COOPERATION FROM OTHER NATO PARTNERS MIGHT WELL BE FORTHCOMING).

H. IMPACT OF SPANISH MEMBERSHIP ON SPAIN'S BILATERAL MILITARY RELATIONS. SPANISH CONCERN LEST TRADITIONAL U.S. MILITARY ASSISTANCE BE "ENDORSED TO THE ALLIES" PRODUCED REASSURANCES THAT THE PROGRAMS CALLED FOR IN THE TREATY WOULD NOT BE AFFECTED, AND MOREOVER THAT TRANSFERS OF EQUIPMENT AND TECHNOLOGY, AND INDUSTRIAL COOPERATION, SHOULD BE FACILITATED BOTH WITHIN EUROPE AND WITH THE U.S. THROUGH MEMBERSHIP.

I. THE PROBLEM OF EDUCATING PUBLIC OPINION/ENTRY PROCEDURES. THE U.S. SIDE BRIEFED ON THE NORTH ATLANTIC ASSEMBLY, THE ATA AND NATIS. THE SPANISH SIDE BRIEFED ON GIBRALTAR (SEPTEL). THE SPANISH CO-CHAIRMAN ADDRESSED A POSSIBLE MEMBERSHIP SCENARIO BY SUGGESTING THAT AN INVITATION TO SPAIN FROM THE ALLIANCE WOULD PRESUMABLY FOLLOW AN INDICATION FROM THE SPANISH GOVERNMENT THAT THEY WERE PREPARED TO RECEIVE IT; THAT OF COURSE A PRIOR SPANISH PARLIAMENTARY DEBATE WOULD BE REQUIRED; THAT THIS COULD NOT BE "FORCED" SOON SINCE THE GOS WAS TRYING TO FOCUS ATTENTION ON DIFFICULT

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DOMESTIC AND OTHER INTERNATIONAL ISSUES "WITHOUT TRAUMA"  
AND WOULD NOT OCCUR IN ANY EVENT BEFORE COMPLETION OF A  
NEW SPANISH CONSTITUTION; AND THAT CLEAR RECEPTIVITY

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TOWARD SPANISH ENTRY IN THE EC WOULD BE A PREREQUISITE FOR PERSUADING SPANISH PUBLIC OPINION, AS WOULD VISIBLE PROGRESS TOWARD RESOLUTION OF THE GIBRALTAR ISSUE. SENIOR SPANISH MILITARY REPRESENTATIVE SUGGESTED THAT A CLEARER NATO POSITION ON THE CANARIES WAS ALSO CALLED FOR. IN RESPONSE, THE U.S. SIDE SUGGESTED THAT THE NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY AREA WOULD NATURALLY ENCOMPASS THE CANARIES. THE U.S. SIDE ALSO NOTED THAT THE U.S.-SPANISH "GEOGRAPHICAL AREA OF COMMON INTEREST" ALREADY DID, AND THAT U.S. SPOKESMEN HAD RECENTLY UNDERLINED THAT THE CANARIES ARE A PART OF SPAIN. THERE WAS NO MENTION OF CEUTA OR MELILLA BY EITHER SIDE. STABLER

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## Message Attributes

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**Status:** NATIVE  
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**TAGS:** MPOL, MARR, SP, NATO  
**To:** STATE DOD  
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**Review Markings:**  
Sheryl P. Walter  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
20 Mar 2014  
**Markings:** Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014